

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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FM AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2562

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MARTINIQUE 0111

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (REMOVAL OF STADIS CAPTION)

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, FW
SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT

REF: STATE 38356, STATE 058263

FOLLOWING IS POST PARM SUBMISSION, PART I. PARTS II AND III
FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

PART I

POLICY ASSESSMENTS

A. U.S. INTERESTS.

U.S. INTERESTS IN THE FRENCH OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS (DOMS) OF
MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE AND FRENCH GUIANA ARE LIMITED. POLITICALLY,
THEY ARE INTEGRATED FRENCH DEPARTMENTS, AND AS SUCH, OUR RELATIONS
WITH THEM ARE PART OF OUR OVER-ALL RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. BECAUSE
THEY ARE PART OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, WE DO LITTLE
TRADING WITH THEM, AND THEY POSSESS NO RAW MATERIALS OR NATURAL RE-
SOURCES WE NEED. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE, AND WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE,
INTEREST IN THEM BECAUSE THEY ARE LOCATED IN THE CARIBBEAN AND THEY
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ARE PART OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD SITTING ON OUR SOUTHERN DOOR-
STEP. MOREOVER, MARTINIQUE AND GUADELOUPE WILL PLAY A ROLE, ALTHOUGH
AS YET UNDEFINED, IN THE FUTURE OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN AREA.
ADMITTEDLY, THEIR INFLUENCE SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED, FOR THE
ISLANDS OF THE LESSER ANTILLES REMAIN LARGELY ISOLATED FROM ONE
ANOTHER, BUT IF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT SO CHOOSES, THE FRENCH
ANTILLES COULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE AREA. IT IS AT PRESENT

DIFFICULT TO FORESEE ANY MOVEMENT TOWARD UNIFICATION IN THE LESSER ANTILLES. MORE LIKELY THAN NOT, THE AREA WILL BE COVERED BY MINI-STATES, AND CONCEIVABLY, MARTINIQUE AND GUADELOUPE COULD EVENTUALLY BECOME INDEPENDENT FRENCH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES.

IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO HAVE FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS IN THE CARIBBEAN, WELL-DISPOSED TOWARD AMERICANS AND THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. FOR THAT REASON, BUT BEARING IN MIND THAT MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE AND GUIANA ARE INTEGRAL PARTS OF FRANCE, WE SHOULD DO WHAT WE CAN TO ASSURE THE CONTINUATION OF STABLE POLITICAL LIFE AND REASONABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THEM. OUR GREATEST INTEREST IS THAT THEY REMAIN PART OF FRANCE, EITHER AS DEPARTMENTS, OR IF EVENTS DICTATE, AS SELF-GOVERNING UNITS ENJOYING INTERNAL AUTONOMY IN UNION WITH FRANCE. SHOULD, IN TIME, THE INHABITANTS OF THE FRENCH WEST INDIES OR GUIANA OPT FOR INDEPENDENCE, WE WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE TO RESPECTING THEIR DECISION AND ADJUSTING OUR POLICIES ACCORDINGLY. NO ONE CAN NOW FORESEE WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENTS WOULD EMERGE IF THE ANTILLES-GUIANA BECAME INDEPENDENT STATES, BUT AT PRESENT IT APPEARS THEY WOULD CHOOSE AS MODELS GUYANA, JAMAICA OR TRINIDAD.

B. PRINCIPAL OFFICER'S OVERVIEW

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE FRENCH DEPARTMENTS OF MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE AND FRENCH GUIANA ARE LIMITED. FEW AMERICANS RESIDE HERE; FEWER U.S. FIRMS CONDUCT BUSINESS OPERATIONS. TRADE IS HAMPERED BY EEC BARRIERS, AND AS PARTS OF FRANCE, THEIR POLITICAL STATUS IS AN INTERNAL FRENCH MATTER WELL BEYOND OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE. NEVERTHELESS, THEY ASSUME AN IMPORTANCE TO US WHICH THEY OTHERWISE WOULD NOT HAVE BECAUSE OF THEIR GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION IN

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THE CARIBBEAN.

OUR IMPORTANT NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE ANTILLES-GUIANA IS THAT THEY DEVELOP ECONOMICALLY AND REMAIN POLITICALLY STABLE. THEIR IMPORTANCE TO US SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED, BUT WITH OVER 700,000 PEOPLE, THEY COMPRISE A LARGE AND IMPORTANT POLITICAL GROUP IN THE LESSER ANTILLES.

THIS INTEREST CAN, I BELIEVE, BEST BE SATISFIED BY THE CONTINUANCE OF THE FRENCH PRESENCE HERE, A PRESENCE WHICH WILL, I BELIEVE, MAKE FOR GREATER POLITICAL STABILITY AND ASSURE A MEASURE, EVEN IF LIMITED, OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE ANTILLES-GUIANA IS NOT LIKELY TO CHANGE IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. CLEARLY THE GISCARD D'ESTAING GOVERNMENT HAS NO PLANS TO WEAKEN FRENCH TIES WITH MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE OR GUIANA. THERE IS NO DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE. LOCAL ECONOMIES ARE HEAVILY DEPENDENT UPON SUBSTANTIAL OUTLAYS FROM PARIS WHICH UNDERWRITE THE RELATIVELY HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING FOUND HERE. PROBABLY A MAJORITY OF ANTILLEANS OR GUIANESE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN CHANGING THE POLITICAL STATUS

OF THE CARIBBEAN DEPARTMENTS; INDEED, MANY ARE CONCERNED THAT A CHANGE OF DEPARTMENTAL STATUS TO ONE OF AUTONOMY MIGHT JEOPARDIZE SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES THEY ENJOY BY BEING FRENCH CITIZENS. FOR THESE REASONS, I BELIEVE OUR LOW PROFILE STANCE IN THE FWI IS THE PROPER POLICY AT PRESENT. WE NEED ABOUT WHAT WE HAVE HERE, A SMALL CONSULATE, WITHOUT SPECIAL RESOURCES, ABLE TO OBSERVE, REPORT BASIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS, CONDUCT CONSULAR AFFAIRS AND DO WHAT IT CAN TO DEVELOP COMMERCIAL RELATIONS. BUT WE SHOULD REMAIN ALERT TO POTENTIAL PROBLEMS IN THE AREA, FOR IN THE NEXT FIVE TO TEN YEARS WE MAY BE FACED WITH A NEW SITUATION.

LIKE OTHER UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS, POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE ANTILLES-GUIANA COULD BE UNDERMINED IF ECONOMIC GROWTH DOES NOT MEET EXPECTATIONS. THERE IS AN INSISTENT DEMAND MORE OR LESS SUPPORTED BY THE LARGER PART OF PUBLIC OPINION, FOR A GREATER SHARE IN MANAGING LOCAL AFFAIRS. THERE IS A FEELING LOCALLY THAT THE DEPARTMENTS ARE THE FORGOTTEN CHILDREN OF FRANCE. EVERYONE WANTS A

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HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING, BUT JUST WHAT LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY THE AREA'S RESOURCES WILL SUPPORT IS AN OPEN QUESTION. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SEVERE UNREST WOULD RESULT IF FRENCH FINANCIAL SUBSIDIES, VITAL AS THEY ARE TO MAINTAINING CURRENT LIVING STANDARDS, WERE SUDDENLY WITHDRAWN. FINALLY, LIKE OTHER AREAS IN THE CARIBBEAN, THE POPULATION SUFFERS A PROFOUND IDENTITY CRISIS: ONE MEASURE OF THIS IS WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE A GRADUAL RADICALIZATION OF SOME OF THE BLACK YOUTH HERE. WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT, LARGE NUMBERS OF THEM EMIGRATE TO METROPOLITAN FRANCE WHERE THEY FIND AT BEST A PARTIAL ACCEPTANCE SOCIALLY, AND ONLY THE WORST JOBS OPEN TO THEM.

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ACTION ARA-10

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MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
/067 W

-----140022Z 061631 /61

R 291630Z MAR 77
FM AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2563

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 MARTINIQUE 0111

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (REMOVAL OF STADIS CAPTION)

IN DECEMBER 1974, THE GISCARD GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM OF "ECONOMIC DEPARTMENTALIZATION" AIMED AT BRINGING THE LOCAL ECONOMIES TO THE LEVEL OF THAT OF METROPOLITAN FRANCE. ALL INDICATIONS POINT TO GISCARD'S CONTINUED COMMITMENT TO THE PROGRAM. FOR INSTANCE, FINANCIAL OUTLAYS FROM PARIS HAVE INCREASED IN RECENT YEARS; AND IN JULY, 1975 THE GOF ANNOUNCED AN UNPRECEDENTED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR GUIANA. SUCH EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE AND WHILE I AM NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THE GOF WILL BE ABLE TO SOLVE ALL THE LONGTERM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE ANTILLES-GUIANA, ITS EFFORTS WILL CERTAINLY AMELIORATE THEM. THERE ARE ALSO INDICATIONS IN 1974 THAT THE GISCARD GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO GIVE A SYMPATHETIC HEARING TO DEMANDS FOR MORE LOCAL CONTROL OVER INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT THE PLANS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN PUT ON THE BACK BURNER. THERE CAN BE NO CERTAINTY AT PRESENT THAT THESE DEMANDS WILL BE GRANTED OR THE PROBLEMS THEY POSE WILL BE SOON RESOLVED. THE GISCARD GOVERNMENT SPEAKS OF A DECENTRALIZATION OF POWER, BUT ITS PLANS ARE STILL UNCLEAR AS FAR AS THE ANTILLES-GUIANA ARE CONCERNED. SO FAR AS WE CAN OBSERVE, THE GOF IS NOT READY TO MEET EITHER THE DEMANDS OF THOSE WHO WANT MORE AUTHORITY TO ADMINISTER LOCAL AFFAIRS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DEPARTMENTAL STATUS, OR THOSE WHO INSIST THE DEPARTMENTS BE MADE INTO AUTONOMOUS SELF-GOVERNING UNITS.

ANOTHER FACTOR HAS RECENTLY ARISEN WHICH MIGHT RESULT IN INSTABILITY:
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ILITY: THIS IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT A SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST COALITION GOVERNMENT WILL COME INTO POWER IN PARIS AFTER THE FRENCH LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN 1978. SUCH A GOVERNMENT IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE AN IMMEDIATE POLITICAL IMPACT ON LOCAL AFFAIRS, BUT THE SO-CALLED COMMON PROGRAM OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES CALLS FOR THE RIGHT OF AUTODETERMINATION IN FRENCH OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS. NO ONE, AT THE PRESENT TIME, KNOWS WHAT THIS MEANS PRECISELY OR HOW A SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT, ASSUMING IT CAME TO POWER, WOULD GO ABOUT IMPLEMENTING THE PLEDGE. THE PROBLEM IS THAT IF A PARIS GOVERNMENT RE-EXAMINES THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS AND THE METROPOLE--IF, IN EFFECT, IT BEGINS TO TINKER WITH THESE RELATIONSHIPS--A PERIOD OF INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY IS ALMOST CERTAIN TO ENSUE IN MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE AND FRENCH GUIANA. WE WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO JUDGE THESE PROBLEMS IN THE COURSE OF THE TWO OR THREE YEARS AHEAD. UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PEOPLE OF THE FRENCH ANTILLES AND GUIANA MIGHT OPT FOR AN AUTONOMY SIMILAR TO PUERTO RICO'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE U.S. WITH THE BEST OF GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES, A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP COULD SURELY BE DEvised, BUT I PERSONALLY

DOUBT THAT THE HIGHLY CENTRALIZED FRENCH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WOULD PROVE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO MEET THE PROBLEMS OF AUTONOMOUS OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS. IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT AUTONOMY WOULD EVENTUALLY FAIL AND THE THREE DEPARTMENTS WOULD EVENTUALLY BECOME INDEPENDENT.

FINALLY, THE INDEPENDENCE OF SUCH ISLANDS AS ST. LUCIA AND DOMINICA WILL HAVE SOME KIND OF EFFECT ON THE FRENCH ISLANDS. HERE TOO, IT IS TOO EARLY TO MAKE GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT THE MATTER, BUT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT STATES IN NEARBY ISLANDS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY INSPIRE LOCAL PRO-AUTONOMY GROUPS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HOWEVER, IF NEWLY INDEPENDENT ST. LUCIA OR DOMINICA FACE SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL UNREST A FEW YEARS HENCE, CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS WHICH INSIST ON MAINTAINING CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL STATUS WILL BE ALL THE MORE ADAMANT IN OPPOSING ANY LOOSENING OF TIES WITH METROPOLITAN FRANCE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ANGLOPHONE ISLANDS COULD, UNDER CERTAIN

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CIRCUMSTANCES, ACCENTUATE LOCAL POLITICAL CONFLICTS. THESE DEVELOPMENTS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS.

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION AND ISSUES

OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES IN THE FRENCH WEST INDIES ARE FAIRLY SELF-EVIDENT, AND NONE OF THEM RAISE ISSUES WHICH REQUIRE EXTENSIVE CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON. AT SOME POINT, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD CONSIDER REOPENING THE USIS CULTURAL CENTERS WHICH FORMERLY WERE IN GUADELOUPE AND MARTINIQUE.

OBJECTIVES:

1. OUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IS THE MAINTENANCE OF FRENCH PRESENCE IN THE WEST INDIES, THAT IS TO SAY, THAT THE ANTILLES-GUIANA DEPARTMENTS REMAIN EITHER INTEGRATED POLITICAL UNITS ADMINISTERED FROM FRANCE, OR AS AUTONOMOUS UNITS WITHIN THE FRENCH SYSTEM.

2. SECONDARY OBJECTIVES ARE POLITICAL STABILITY AND A REASONABLE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE FWI; THE PROMOTION OF BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. POLICIES, VALUES AND SOCIETY; AND CONTROL OF THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND GOODS TO AND FROM THE U.S.

COURSES OF ACTION:

THE FRENCH PRESENCE IN MARTINIQUE, GUADELOUPE AND FRENCH GUIANA HAS BEEN LARGELY BENEFICIAL AND AS OVERSEAS DEPARTMENTS THEY CURRENTLY ENJOY THE HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING OF ALL THE ISLANDS IN THE

LESSER ANTILLES. THE INHABITANTS OF THE ANTILLES-GUIANA CONSIDER THEMSELVES TO BE FRENCH AND INDEPENDENCE IS NOT LIKELY TO BE AN ISSUE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A CONTINUING DEBATE ABOUT WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL STATUS THE DEPARTMENTS SHOULD POSSESS, WHETHER, THAT IS, THEY SHOULD REMAIN DEPARTMENTS OR BECOME

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AUTONOMOUS. IF THE 1978 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE PRODUCE A SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST VICTORY, AND IF A LEFT COALITION GOVERNMENT COMES TO POWER IN PARIS, THE LOCAL DEBATE WILL ASSUME AN IMPORTANCE OR URGENCY, IT HAS NOT SO FAR POSSESSED. OBVIOUSLY, HOWEVER, A SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IS STILL HYPOTHETICAL, AND AT PRESENT WE CANNOT USEFULLY ADDRESS THE ISSUE. WE SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE AWARE OF THE PROBLEM. MEANWHILE, WE NEED TAKE NO STEPS TO INSURE A CONTINUING "FRENCH PRESENCE." THE GISCARD GOVERNMENT HAS NO INTENTION OF CHANGING THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THESE DEPARTMENTS.

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R 291630Z MAR 77
FM AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2564

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 MARTINIQUE 0111

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR REMOVAL OF STADIS CAPTION)

OUR SECONDARY OBJECTIVES ARE INTERRELATED. BRIEFLY, WE SHOULD DO WHAT WE CAN TO INSURE ORDERLY POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. IF IT EVER BECOMES NECESSARY, WE SHOULD NOT HESITATE TO LET IT BE KNOWN THAT WE WILL NOT PERMIT THE ANTILLES-GUIANA TO BE GOVERNED BY GROUPS HOSTILE TO OUR INTERESTS AND VALUES. BUT BECAUSE THESE DEPARTMENTS ARE PART OF FRANCE, THERE IS LITTLE WE CAN DO DIRECTLY TO ENSURE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY. NEVERTHELESS,

WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE U.S. TOURISM AND THE ENTRY OF U. S. INVEST-
MENTS TO HELP ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROMOTE POLITICAL STABILITY.
WE SHOULD HELP THE LOCAL BUSINESSMEN FIND EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES
IN THE U.S., AS WELL AS AIDING U.S. BUSINESSES TO FIND EXPORT
OPPORTUNITIES HERE. AT PRESENT FWI EXPORTS TO THE U.S. ARE ALMOST
NIL, AND IT IS IN OUR ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST TO ENCOURAGE
THEM. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY USEFUL TO RE-ESTABLISH THE USIS
CULTURAL CENTERS WHICH EXISTED IN GUADELOUPE AND MARTINIQUE UNTIL
THE LATE 1960'S. THEY WERE HUGELY POPULAR. THEY GAVE THE PUBLIC,
PARTICULARLY STUDENTS, AN OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME ACQUAINTED WITH
THE U.S. AND, AT A MODEST COST, DID MUCH TO PROMOTE A BETTER
UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. POLICIES AND VALUES.

THE FINAL OBJECTIVE, THE CONTROL OF THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND
GOODS, IS EQUALLY SELF-EVIDENT. THE FRENCH ANTILLES CAN BE USED
AS A TRANSIT POINT FOR THE SMUGGLING OF NARCOTICS AND ENDEMIC
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UNEMPLOYMENT WILL MAKE NECESSARY A CLOSE SCREENING OF INTENDING
NON-IMMIGRANT VISA VISITORS FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.
MARINE

NOTE: REMOVAL OF STADIS CAPTION PER MR.STORING (ARA-X-22399)

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